/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al- 439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- [462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 439 184 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes. 126 439 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Nevertheless, the trade was most happily made. 437 The coca pouches of our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 437 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that everybody knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

1: Nachtigall--128 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, tus, and gĕlyŏmp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[202] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well
as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[77] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[290] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
[756] acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

1: Nachtigall--130 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

P /197 cont./

● 184 764 533 535 C P 764 533 535 C 123

In this respect Calderas differs from all the other Indio or colonist towns known to me, for there neither music nor dancing is done on the occasion of a death. Both are done at the death of an "angelito," not only among the Paez living in the vicinity of colonists, but, above all, among the white and mixed-colored colonists. Thus, on January 1, 1953, soon after our arrival in the archeological park of San Andrés, two small girls of the neighborhood came to us and asked if I would photograph the "little angel." At first I was annoyed, for a short time before a group of children had come, carrying a doll on a flower-bedecked tray from house to house, and they presented it to us, too, as the child Jesus who was collecting contributions for the mass that was to take place on January 6. The girls told me, however, that this little angel was the deceased, two-months-old child of the colonists in the neighboring house, whose mother had already washed and adorned it beautifully. The house was 20 meters away from our own, and even from our door one could already hear jolly music from the neighboring house, such as we had already heard at Christmas and at the New Year's Eve celebration. In the house a large number of neighbors and relatives were gathered in the same room in [534] which the child was laid out. People were laughing, drinking, singing, and dancing. The orchestra -- as always -- consisted of a guitar, a mandola, and rumba balls, and the usual musicians played in it. One of them was the father of the dead child, a second one, its uncle. Astonished at the bustle, I asked the mother whether she was not a little sad over the loss of her child. She admitted that she was, but at the same time said that her child was now a little angel and this was grounds for joy and dancing. I asked up to what age deceased children are called "little angels." I was told that if they are not yet two or three years old they "are" little angels and not merely called that. The small child, whom they always referred to only as the little angel, was laid out in the room on a table, flowers lay all around it, and at its head stood an image of the Virgin Mary with four candles in front [273] of it. The people were not yet quite sober from New Year's Eve and already the inevitable liquor bottle was making the rounds again. On the next day the burial by the relatives took place.

1: Nachtigall--131 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Columbia SC1

S P /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C 123 side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
/198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
● 184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

1: Nachtigall--132 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/198 cont./

764 protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral
184 niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me
[178] that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard.
[201] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the
[516] family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (ãhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
46! Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258/). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with
173 the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case
533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the
[175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums
[534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They
[197] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in
[177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[134] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
●184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [491] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/261 cont./

683 554 754 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu: "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 [623] In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 184 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951, they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/263 cont./

182 754 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 182 177 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 754 423 [554] [152] Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution has become prominent. Those who have the most land are the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions 754 182 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this institution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against [184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is [177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed [675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad [762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels [842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
● [184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

487 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

?Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Ciesa, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk. 178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights 764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

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the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

/180 cont./

583 [175] In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that [192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 583 595 ● 184 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño" in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro showed the following results:

Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño: 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/181 cont./

162 583 595 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% practiced the amaño.

584 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated, 581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the 594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the [585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way 594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear- 462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the